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S P E E C H
OF
HON. S. S. COX, OF OHIO,
ON
TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 18, 1859.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union--
Mr. COX said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I would not have sought the floor when I did, had I not been expecting daily a telegraphic dispatch which would have called me home, and perhaps unfitted me for saying what I wished, in relation to the questions of a foreign nature connected with our territorial expansion.

There is a logic in history which is as inexorable as fate. A writer in the time of the first Stuart, gave as the number of the kingdoms of Christendom, five-and-twenty. But there was no mention of three of the principal nations, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in their present condition; nor of twelve other nations out of the twenty now enumerated in Europe; nor of the thirty petty sovereignties now extant in Germany. Within two centuries, the transatlantic continent has changed its territory and rulers beyond all the caprices of fancy; yet by a law as fixed as that which returns the seasons or rolls the stars.

The disquieting aspect of cisatlantic politics signifies the consummation of territorial changes on this continent, long predicted, long delayed, but as certain as the logic of history!

Some of these changes in Europe have been through decay, dissolution, and disintegration. Spain was once the Peru and Mexico of the Old World. The ancestors of the hidalgo were enslaved in the mines of Spain by Rome and Carthage. But now, Leon, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Toledo, Galicia, and Granada, once separate kingdoms, have lost their isolated glory, and are only known as the props of the "worm-eaten throne of Spain." The stronger races of Europe have consolidated their power by extending its sphere and absorbing the weaker neighboring nations. England, Ireland, and Scotland, by union, have transplanted their colonies and multiplied their strength; and Russia has clasped the half of Europe and Asia in its strong embrace, until, from the furthest West we perceive the conflict of their civilization in the furthest East!

These are but illustrations of a law from which America is not exempt. Not more surely will northern Africa, and indeed the countries whose boundaries are coincident with the Mediterranean, become French; western and northern Asia become Russian; and southern and central Asia become English, than this continent become American! The law which commands this is higher law than congressional enactment. If we do not work with it, it will work in spite of us. This law may be expressed thus:

That the weaker and disorganized nations must be absorbed by the strong and organized nation. Nationalities of inferior grade must surrender to those of superior civilization and polity!

Whether the races of this continent be in a tribal condition, as are our Indians; in a semi-civilized and anarchical condition, as are the Central and South Ameri-

can and Mexican races, they must obey this law of political gravitation. This law drives them to the greater and more illustrious State for protection, happiness, and advancement. Whether the United States go and take them, or they come and ask to be taken, no matter. They must whirl in; throw off their nebulous and uncertain form, and become crystallized into the higher forms of civilization.

The largest expression of this law of annexation, is: That no nation has the right to hold soil, virgin and rich, yet unproducing; no nation has a right to hold great isthmean highways, or strong defences, on this continent, without the desire, will, or power, to use them. They ought, and must, inure to the advancement of our commerce. They must become confiscate to the decrees of Providence!

In carrying out these designs, we have, from time to time, added territory from France, Spain, and Mexico. We have endeavored to add other territory, which the jealousy of France, Spain, and especially of England, has prevented. It is not my purpose now to rehearse our history in this regard. We may have kept step with our interests and our destiny; but at this juncture, standing on the threshold of this new year, we are only marking time, not moving forward! It is well to inquire whether there is not now upon us, as the assembled expression of this nation, a peculiar duty with respect to this element of our progress. My judgment is, that we are to-day, derelict. We are not up to the enterprise of the nation. If we consider just now the elements of our people, martial, mechanical, intellectual, agricultural, and political, who will doubt but that there are a dozen locomotive Republics already fired up and ready for movement?

The Executive has done his duty. He has boldly followed out his Ostend ideas. He has urged upon us a duty, which being undone, leaves him powerless, and leaves the national enthusiasm and expansion a prey to adventurous raids and seditious propagandists. Had the Thirty-Fourth Congress aided President Pierce in the Black Warrior matter, we should now have representatives from Cuba on this floor!

The President has called our attention to the territory upon our south. Not New Granada—she will come in time. Not Venezuela—she is even yet more vital than New Granada; but the country north of these, and lying between them and us, must be absorbed. For this absorption we must contend, not so much with the people, whose interests will be enhanced by the absorption, but with Spain, France, and England, who have no interests comparable with our own. These interests and antagonisms I propose to consider in this order: First, Cuba; second, Central America; third, Mexico.

As to Cuba, the reasons for its acquisition are well understood by the country. The message has succinctly and ably presented them. Its geographical position gives to the nation which holds it, unless that nation be very weak, a coign of vantage as to which self-preservation forbids us to be indifferent. Our Mississippi, foreign, and coast-wise trade, now \$250,000,000, and in five years to be 500,000,000, are within its compass. While the island is of little use to Spain, save as a source of revenue, it is to us of incalculable advantage. The nature of the colonial office in Cuba—its power to harm us remedilessly, unless we go to Madrid for remedy; and the final stopping of the slave trade, are reasons well urged by the President. Our unsettled claims, and the many other difficulties growing out of our relations to Spain, demand settlement, but receive none.

How long shall we continue in this condition? During the pleasure of Spain? Is there no redress? Is our every attempt to be construed into a usurpation? What impediments have we to meet? There is one which has since Mr. Adams' time, proved insurmountable—Spanish pride. It is well said by an old poet, that—

"Spain gives us pride, which Spain of all the earth
May freely give, nor fear herself a dearth."

Since then, there has been no curtailment of that pride. True, Spain has now little to be proud of but her recollections. Poor, sensitive, corrupt, she holds to the punctilio of dignity without its substantial energy. If Spain will not

sell Cuba to us, because she feels that she will thereby sell her honor, we must insist on her changing its policy. She should keep the island aloof from French intervention. She should preserve its independence.

Above all, Spain should abolish her present infamous tariff. Her export tariff is an anomaly in commerce, and her tariff on imports is still more barbaric. Her export duty, which is a direct tax on the producer of her sugars and tobacco, does not so much affect us, as the tax which she loads on our flour, pork, beef, and lard. We have tried in vain by diplomacy to unloosen these shackles. Nothing but the sword can cut them off.

Up to 1809, Spain imposed restrictions on Cuba, by which no trade at all was allowed with any foreign nation. After this, and on the revival of the Spanish merchant-marine, the differential duty on goods imported in *foreign bottoms* was enacted. It was intended to crush out the trade with the United States. This continued till 1834, when this Congress passed retaliatory laws. No countervailing acts, however, could move the meanness of Spanish restriction. American flour and other staples for which Cuba must look to a foreign market, are excluded. Thus a balance of trade, averaging \$10,000,000 per year, is kept constantly against us. The duty in Cuba on flour imported from Spain is only \$2.50 per barrel; from the United States, in American or other foreign bottoms, it is \$10.81. So that, if flour be worth five dollars in Cincinnati, the cost to the Cuban consumer is sixteen dollars per barrel! This enormous tax on flour prevents its use in the island, except by the wealthy few—the thirty-five thousand Spaniards. The body of the poor and oppressed Creoles are compelled to use the dry and insipid Cassava root as a substitute for bread. This tariff on flour, added to an infamous tonnage-tax, operates as a prohibition on flour. With a moderate duty, or if Cuba were annexed, this consumption, as it is estimated by our economists, would be a million of barrels! It would be enjoyed by us exclusively—inure to the benefit of the farmers of my State and yours. That is evident from the fact, that no other country could compete with us in that staple; for no other country is so near to Cuba, or so prolific in breadstuffs.

We exported to Cuba, in 1857, only 45,145 barrels of flour, worth \$224,410; in 1858, 17,905 barrels, worth \$105,069. Of other articles, beef, pork, lard, hams, and bacon, and including flour, we had, in 1857, but \$1,868,783; in 1858, but \$1,228,119. Whereas, had a liberal commercial economy, like that of Belgium, Holland, or Great Britain obtained, we should have had, at least, \$10,000,000 of produce exported. This would nearly have balanced our trade in sugar and coffee, and on these we have fixed no prohibitive tariff! Thus our commerce is crippled under the blows of this Spanish oppression. Why even the Spanish Crown would be better helped, by a more liberal policy. Such a system in this era of commercial freedom, is a shame to civilization, and if international law were rightly written, it would, itself, be a cause of honorable war!

But I have little hope that Spain will sell Cuba, or that the Cubans understand the nature of the blessings which attend annexation. They will not perceive that they become, by annexation, coequal with New York and Ohio, in a common league for the common weal. They fear for their church and domestic institutions, as if they were any part of Federal concernment.

I was surprised to meet an impediment raised by a distinguished Senator from South Carolina in his Barnwell speech. I trust it is not shared by many southern men. He objects to taking Cuba; first, because it may involve a war, whose consequences he states to be fearful. He leaves us in doubt as to these consequences. Does he mean the reduction of Cuba to the condition of Hayti? A terrible consequence. That might follow; but that is rather an English than a Spanish threat, and hardly capable of execution in a time when Spain and France are reviving the slave trade to cheapen tropical produce. His second objection is more salient. I quote it entire:

"If we had Cuba, we could not make more than two or three slave States there, which would not restore the equilibrium of the North and the South; while, with the African slave trade closed, and her only resort to this continent, she would, besides crushing out our whole sugar culture by her competition, afford in a few years a market for all the slaves in Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland. She is, notwithstanding the exorbitant taxes imposed on her, capable now of absorbing the annual increase of all the slaves on this continent, and consumes, it is said, twenty or thirty thousand a year by her system of labor. Slaves decrease there large-

ly. In time, under the system practiced, every slave in America might be exterminated in Cuba as were the Indians. However the idle African may procreate in the tropics, it yet remains to be proven, and the facts are against the conclusion, that he can, in those regions, work and thrive. It is said Cuba is to be "Africanized," rather than that the United States should take her. That threat, which at one time was somewhat alarming, is no longer any cause of disquietude to the South, after our experience of the Africanizing of St. Domingo and Jamaica. What have we lost by that? I think we reaped some benefit; and if the slaves of Cuba are turned loose, a great sugar culture would grow up in Louisiana and Texas, rivaling that of cotton, and diverting from it so much labor that cotton would rarely be below its present price."

This objection is two-fold. The inter-state slave trade with Cuba, in case of annexation, he thinks, would make several free States, by the demand and consumption of negroes; and even if it would not, Cuba would not give the South the preponderance in the Union; and *secondly*, sugar he thinks, would be cheap to the whole Union; while a few thousand sugar planters, who just thrive on the bounty they now get, would be ruined. As to the argument about Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, becoming free through Cuban annexation, I leave that to the members from those States. As to the sugar, I say, that an argument of that kind addressed to a free-trade people by a free trader, should go far to weaken the *morale* of his great and frank speech, as it does the economy of his politics. To the people of my State, such an argument will quicken their ambition to acquire Cuba; not alone because of the millions to be gained by an increase of our exports thither, which are taxed prohibitively; but because we pay a tax on Cuban sugar, which is harsh, protective, and indefensible, in any epoch of a depressed exchequer. In 1857, there were, in all, of sugar and molasses, imported from Cuba into the United States, \$10,093,466 worth. The tariff on these sugars was \$12,028,039 80. Ohio paid one-tenth of this, or about twelve hundred thousand dollars, which is equal to her immense school tax, and nearly half a million more than she pays for her State government, and nearly one-half of the expenses of all her counties. By our tariff of 1857, we reduced the tax on sugar six per cent. and the panic reduced the importation enormously. During the year ending June 30, 1858, our sugars from Cuba amounted to only \$18,620,022, giving a revenue of \$4,468,805 28, at twenty-four per cent. *ad valorem*.

Since 1847, when Mr. Polk proposed annexation, this nation must have paid over sixty millions sugar tax! Ohio has paid of that sum \$6,000,000. My district has paid one-twentieth part of \$6,000,000, or \$300,000; an annual tax of \$20,000—all for what? That one of the prime necessities of life should be fostered into premature growth, to aid a few sugar planters in the South! If Cuba cannot be annexed, to break this servility, by which the many are made tributary to the few, then we must remodel our Democracy and economy. My State Legislature, in 1854, passed a resolution, at my solicitation, requesting Congress to abate this tax. There is no reason for its existence.

"But," it is said, "we must protect Texas and Louisiana in their few sugar plantations! If Cuba comes in, away goes the tax!" Every man, woman, and child, in my State, will say: "Away with it! Welcome Cuba and free sugar!" "But," says the Senator, "if Cuba be Africanized and kept out, it will keep up the price of sugar, and a great growth will spring up, rivaling cotton." What then? Eestaeby! "Negroes will be in demand. Cotton, too, will be kept high!" What an argument for a Senator of all the United States, every one of whose interests are his own! The Union is a cotton-pod! [Laughter.] Its growth dependent on the growth of the cane! If, by this logic, Cuba is to be kept out, let us know it. Already the republican mouth grows juicy at the prospect with Cuba in the Union! [Laughter.] It matters not if sugar be made by slaves. That little delicacy of Exeter-Hall sentimentality is becoming obsolete. Even our Quakers are willing to drink *cheap* damnation in their coffee-cups, and eat it on their buckwheats!

My most distinguished constituent, the Governor of my State, and a candidate for the Presidency, will soon outvie your southern Hotspurs in the race of annexation, if thus you dress your laggard logic. In a speech at a Yankee festival in my city, where the Pilgrims were praised for many a virtue which they had not, and their intolerable intolerance was glossed over by the fervor of the hour, Governor Chase is reported to have advocated the policy of "leaving to

every one the absolute control of all matters of domestic concernment," and an "indefinite expansion of empire." If this does not include Cuba, I will ask his friends opposite, to say what is excluded by his concluding remark, that "as the last result of the enlarging empire both of American Government and American principles, he summons 'the parliament of man to sit on the destinies of the world!'"

I did not dream that I should ever have to welcome the Ohio aspirant for the White House into the support of its present occupant. I did not dream last fall that I should represent him so nearly. I warn gentlemen of the South to observe these signs, and prevent this grand larceny of Democratic thunder, by considering the proposition which some gentleman last session called national grand larceny! Call it by what name you will, I am ready to answer the call of the President, if for nothing else, for the benefit of our \$250,000,000 of yearly trade, which must pass under the range of Cuban cannon. I am ready to vote for the bill of the gentleman of North Carolina, [Mr. BRANCH,] looking to the purchase of Cuba; and I am not very particular as to the amount of money with which to fill the blank in his bill. In case of our failure to purchase by honorable negotiation, I would favor its seizure in case of foreign war, or of a European intervention.

As to Central America, I do not desire to enter so fully into our relations with this region. That has been ably done by my friend from Virginia, [Mr. JENKINS.] We know well the impediment existing in the way of our acquisition there. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty—the diplomatic blunder of the century—stands as a huge gorgon in our path. The policy of its abrogation is conceded; but "how not to do it," seems to have been the practice. The present Executive in his message of December 8, 1857, bewailed this condition of things. He inherited, as did President Pierce, this treaty of peace, which has proved a treaty of offense. England and the United States have been quarreling over its construction, when its destruction was the most pacific course that could have been adopted. Collateral treaties may be made which will prevent the consequence of an abrupt abrogation of this treaty. Diplomacy is now, we are told, working to this end.

But there is in the American mind a chronic distrust of England. It is well grounded in her laxity of faith. When her interests can be subserved, she breaks any compact; and only adheres to it when demanded by her interests. Whether the treaties to be made with Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, throttle this bantling of Bulwer, whether we are to lose still more by British dilatory diplomacy, remains to be seen. One thing is remarkable, that we have not advanced since 1849, when Nicaragua, in the Hiess-Selva treaty, proposed to "confer on us the exclusive right" of an interoceanic canal, or highway. Had that treaty been confirmed, we might have had to-day forts and free cities along its route and at its termini, with full right to protect Nicaragua by all the strength of our Navy and Army. A year later, and that wily diplomatist Bulwer—who, for his tact, is sent to the Bosphorus to teach Russia her rôle in the East—comes forward with his *projet*. Our Government nibbles coyly at his bait; but, like a foolish fish, at last leaps for the fly, is barbed, and hauled in to flounder for the amusement of the world. Would that Mr. Clayton had weighed the meaning of Smelfungus's philosophy: "It is always easier to cut your throat; but if your throat is once cut, there are certain difficulties in the way of reconsidering your determination." From that time till now, we have been following Mrs. Chick's advice to Dombey, "making an effort to get rid of this incubus.

Crampton and Webster tried in 1852 to unravel the web. Then Webster and Molina tried it, with the aid of Costa Rica. Then Wheeler and McClellan, acting for Nicaragua, made an effort, which our Government failed to accept. Then Clarendon and Herran, for Honduras, sought to untie the knot; and this led the way to the Casa-Yrisarri treaty in the fall of 1857, which began *de novo*. Then, a fair treaty was made, allowing us the protectorate of the transit; but through foreign influence it was so modified by Nicaragua as to be unacceptable to our Government. Now, Sir Gore Ouseley, having ceased to be a diplomatic

myth here, has gone to the South, where, we trust, something may be done to cancel that part of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by which we agreed with England to cut our throats, by never "occupying, fortifying, or colonizing, or assuming, or exercising any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America." We trust that such an agreement may be made to this end; but my reading of history is vain, if we do not find thrown about this abrogation some clog which the American people will not bear.

The truth is, that we have slept so long, and dreamed so transportingly of our destiny over these regions, that meanwhile Japan and China are opened; Frazer's river becomes an Eldorado; and English and French navies, quitting the attempt on Cronstadt, and tiring of the red storm of the Euxine, display their guns on this continent. Their *entente cordiale*, as Clarendon said it would be, is extended to this hemisphere; and here we have them! They are, by their presence, if not by their diplomacy, ignoring the far-famed doctrine of Mr. Monroe, which had, when first given, as general a meaning and as practical a use, as it ought now to have a specific application. His doctrine was, that the American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization or influence by any European Power.

Let controversy contend as to the meaning of this doctrine. I know that when Yucatan was about to be taken by England, and when English arms were furnished her for an independence of Mexico, which would have been a dependency on England, Mr. Calhoun then tried, in an able speech, to limit the application of that doctrine to the surroundings out of which it grew, namely, to the intervention of the holy alliance to recover the revolted American States for Spain, and the Russian occupation on our northwest. But the declaration has a larger meaning. It has become settled policy. In 1823, Mr. Jefferson tersely laid it down thus:

"Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."

Yet this doctrine is sneered at, as if Monroe's ghost were invoked to do a kind of constable's duty, to warn all foreign intruders from this continent. So far as emigration is concerned, this continent is open as day; but no flag, no policy, no institution, no colonies, no protectorates of Europe, can exist here, without endangering the peace, infringing the rights, or disturbing the order and prospective interests of this continent. Whatever may have been the occasion of the Monroe declaration, its cause is as eternal as liberty, and its consequences will be as progressive as our nation. I care not for its traditional emphasis. Democracy, at least, can afford to let that go. Is it sound doctrine for the present? If so, it ought to be the enthusiastic sentiment and genius of this Government. If so, let it be no more the jeer of Europe, the swagger of America, but a fact as much a part of our historic life as the Declaration of Independence, which was its procreant source. That doctrine is the law of self-preservation. General Cass, in his recent letter, has given it proper direction. That doctrine was intended to guard this continent against the incursion of any alliances, "holy" or unholy. It looked to that law which I have laid down, by which the interests and honor of this hemisphere were to be guarded by none but ourselves. We do not want to be foreclosed against its occupation, fortification, and annexation. In the present feeling of this country, no treaty can be made and made to stand, if it does not break down all protectorates of England and all interference of France. The Senate of the United States dare not confirm such a treaty. The present Executive will not present it. The present Secretary of State will not sanction it.

Does England want Honduras, Yucatan, the Belize? What are they to her? Nothing; except as she can use them to block up the progress of this nation. Does she want free passage over the Central American States? That she can have under our auspices and with safety! What does she with the Valorous and the Leopard in the Caribbean sea? Why do her officers spy for arms in the American steamer Washington? Is it only filibusters she is after? I do dis-

trust her. If she seems to acquiesce in our view for a time, may we not attribute it to that popular will which compels her aristocracy to more prudence in reference to America? She pretended to settle all in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; yet that treaty was a delusion and a snare. While that treaty was yet warm, England drives the Nicaraguan forces out of San Juan del Norte; then she pirates that entrepôt from an independent State; anoints a hybrid savage as a king; gives to a few Jamaica negroes, dressed like the Georgia major without his spurs, the constabulary baton, and builds a congeries of negro huts which she nicknames after the Earl Grey. She performs the same office for Honduras, by what Clarendon called the "spontaneous settlement" of the Bay Islands; and then claims from us good faith in keeping the compact which she breaks! Along comes Sir Gore Ouseley to maintain the delusion, in spite of Lord Napier, who goes home. What more? She approves of the Cass-Yrissari treaty by fomenting difficulties in the way of its ratification. She pretends to Mr. Dallas, through Malmsbury, that Belly is a French adventurer for whom she has no sympathy; yet, in acts, gives to him French and English protection, through the alliance. It is not safe to trust her. Her treaties are ropes of sand. Her international law is too elastic for use by any but herself. Her designs are steeped in fraud; and all complications with her are dangerous and entangling. Thank God! we have a Secretary of State whose life is marked with signal ability in anticipating, demonstrating, and frustrating her designs. This nation will sustain him in his declaration that—

"The establishment of a political protectorate by any one of the Powers of Europe over any of the independent States of this continent, or, in other words, the introduction of a scheme of policy which would carry with it a right to interfere in their concerns, is a measure to which the United States have long since avowed their opposition, and which, should the attempt be made, they will resist by all the means in their power."

Behind this rock the present Administration are intrenched. There is no feeling in this country worth calling patriotism, which does not stand squarely up to this high and strong position! Why should not this Congress, by some definite action, stand by the popular sense and the Government? I am ready either to give the moral force of a resolution such as that now referred to the Committee of the Whole, to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; or I am ready to go further, and to clothe the President with extraordinary powers, and to give him means, or the authority to procure means, by which his recommendations may be acted on and acted out.

But it may be said, why so much risk of war with the combined powers of Europe; why so much anxiety for the Isthmus or Central American route? Not because we are in danger of being cut off from its dominion. That will come, if these Central American States remain independent of European constraint. Not because it is the only feasible mode of transit for the great oriental trade between the oceans; for in time there will be rapid and safe transits on our own soil. Not so much because we ought to have and hold the hundred and fifty millions of trade with these Spanish American tropical lands, instead of but ten millions which we now have. But nature never made so narrow an obstacle; one so easily severed, and on which such great commercial and economical results depended, as that at Darien or Nicaragua. She buried mountains and valleys beneath the wave, to narrow that neck, and thus expand the bounds of interchange, and encircle the earth with a white zone of argosies.

If New Granada shall be ours—as it should be, within a twelvemonth, unless the Congress of Bogotá show more honesty and wisdom in settling the claims of our Panama sufferers, than is likely; if New Granada would follow the advice of Gonzales, her attorney general, and enhance her interests by applying for admission to our Union; and if Venezuela would follow the wise inclinations of her patriot chief, General Paez, whose exile here has made him love the land of his home the more for the prospect of uniting its fortunes with ours; then, indeed, these Central American States, now the football of European diplomacy, must either come to us, or be powdered into nothingness between the industrial movements of the surrounding States. Once let the agriculture of Venezuela be smiled upon by a protecting Government, and her magnificent ports would soon fill with the keels of her

elder commerce. Let northern energy blend with her undirected labor, and the gold mines of Upata would gleam with their olden treasures. Let Panama break from her vassalage to her irresponsible rulers, and that mart of the golden age of Spain and her viceroys will teem with a wealth which no buccaneers in a thousand caravels can bear away. These accomplished, and the intermediate States of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, will follow, as surely as the sheaf of the summer follows the seed of the spring. The trade of all tropical America would then fall to us naturally by our proximity, and by the variety of our productions with which to barter. These tropical wastes ought to give us coffee, indigo, and cocoa, which are failing in India, as well as the cabinet woods, so much in demand. In return they will take our flour, pork, machinery, fabrics, and a thousand other articles which they need, and which every State of this Union produces. Our trade, which now counts its hundreds, will then count its millions.

If this Congress has optic nerve enough to look a few years ahead, it will at least, start a policy that will secure all the isthmian highways which are so indispensable to our development and power. Its first duty is to repel every attempt of the remotest influence, come from what quarter it may, which may impede this procession of events or arrest our inevitable and legitimate aggrandizement. No nation with one harbor, much less a nation with a coast beset with harbors like ours, can be long prosperous within, that does not prosper and grow without. When a State, which is commercial by situation, forgets the work of outbuilding its empire, it loses its inner vitality. The day that marks its failure to meet every rising opportunity of advancement abroad, marks its sure decline at home. As with the individual, so with the State; if its ambition be dead and its hopes of expansion smoulder, its dissolution is speedy and sure. While its intellectual and physical energies are tense and grasp a large range; its internal and foreign empire will become consummate because it has the everlasting law of growth!

We have illustrated that law with reference to our southern neighbor, Mexico. The effete and wasted portions of Mexico, being one half of her area, lying next to us, became nutrient to our stalwart strength. The very dirt of the ground became assimilated with our energy, and lo! from our Mexican purchases, \$70,000,000 of gold per year are sucked into every conduit of American life, to enhance its happiness, and give added comfort to its homes. It was once objected, that the soil of California, New Mexico, and Arizona, was poor; a land of sand and centipedes; that there was no homogeneity in the people.

True, she has six million Indians, with Spaniards in plenty and pride, and of mixed people not a few. But are they worse than the Indians of our own soil? On the contrary, they are far better. They are tractable, stout, and laborious. Spain managed them with but a handful of soldiers for three hundred years. She managed them, too, under every provocation to revolt. Had an American protectorate been the sequence of Scott's occupation, a few months of protection would have given their industry its reward and peace its blessing. Then, too, we should have no apprehension to disturb our present relations with Mexico.

To these relations I propose to call the attention of the House. In the discussion, I need only remark, historically, that on the discovery of this continent there was but one nation in North, and one in South America, which seemed to be possessed of any civilized advancement. Peru, under the Incas, whose white robes betokened the almost divine simplicity of the people; and Mexico with a society that was Arcadian in its simplicity, and a polity wonderful in its complications. The State, the priesthood, the cultivators of the soil, the rulers, and the ruled of Mexico, lived in peace under a lovelier sky than that of Naples, and a richer soil than that of ancient Latium. Let it be remembered that this prosperity and contentment were not alone the result of good laws, but of good land; of good manners, but of good mines. There was, in the Aztec tongue, no language of cupidity, though gold roofed the temple and jasper built the altar.

I need not repeat that this isolated ease of civilization on this northern continent was mostly the result of the unparalleled climate and soil. That climate

and soil remain. Three hundred years of misrule have not impaired the salubrity of the one, nor detracted from the wealth of the other.

The Spanish rule at length was thrown off for a Republic like ours. The inborn strength to throw it off, after so long a trial, showed a spirit of freedom which received its plaudits from this nation at the time. In February, 1821, at Iguala, Mexico declared her independence. On the 4th of October, 1824, she adopted her constitution. England was first to recognize this progress, and as usual, for her profit. The lower clergy and the masses, consisting of Indians, were its creators and beneficiaries. The upper clergy never sympathized with this severance from Europe; and until the revolution of Ayutla, consummated by Comonfort, they never became a power in politics. His policy touched their estates. They struck back. His law of desamortizacion confiscated \$18,000,000 of their property, which passed to private individuals. They struck back, even at this compromise confiscation. Comonfort reeled under their blow; reeled from the Puros to the Moderados; and from the Moderados to the Church and its conservative defenders, into whose arms he and his anti-Church policy fell! We need not wonder at these changes, when we remember that a magnificent and organized hierarchy held \$300,000,000 of property; with a revenue of \$20,000,000, being \$5,000,000 more than the best annual Government revenue.

Mr. Cushing said, at Richmond, that these party names of Liberal, Constitutional, Pure, Moderate, Central, and Federal, so often appearing in our Mexican news, "were but the watchwords of contending factions, efficient alike only to waste their common country." Hardly true; for it must be remembered that in Mexico, as in all nations, there will be parties founded on interest or hope, conservative or radical, with intervening moderate shades. There is in Mexico, well-defined, a Central, Federal, or Conservative party, under whose rally men of wealth and of the Church, and of improgressive temperament naturally gather. This party would centralize power in the federal Government, and thereby become aggressive in the States. It would lean towards a strong government; and hence its eye is ever on tradition and Spain. It would to-day hail Spain or France as its master to attain its end. Santa Anna, Zuleanga, and Robles have been its executive representatives. Miramon assumes the same position just now. The natural antagonists of this party are the Puros, the Moderados, Constitutionalists, Democrats, or call them what you will. Federal restraint to them is irksome; Europe and kinglycraft hateful; and the Church despotic and avaricious. In the language of Mr. Gadsden to Alvarez, in June, 1855, "they would limit the central power to that alone which is exterior; and thus they should seek, like the United States, to grow without anarchy into strength and prosperity." Their aspiration is for a republic like our own. They need and deserve our sympathy. Juarez is their Executive—a pure Indian, whose descent is from Montezuma. Degollada is their general, and Mata, their minister, seeking recognition here. This party have a majority of the States and nine-tenths of the people of Mexico with them. They have the revenues. They hold the ports. Their President is *de jure* and *de facto* Executive. A little more patience, Mr. Forsyth, and you would have recognized it thus, and not (as you did) otherwise! *De jure*; for, by the constitution of Mexico, adopted by an extraordinary congress, at the Capitol, February 5, 1857, it was provided, by section seventy-nine, that—

"In temporary default of a President of the Republic, and in the vacancy before the installation of the newly-elected President, the president of the supreme court of justice shall enter upon the exercise of the functions of President."

And, article thirty-two:

"If, from whatever reason, the election of President shall not have been made and published by December 1st, upon which the change is to take place, or if the newly elected is not able to enter promptly upon the exercise of his functions, the term of the preceding President shall nevertheless cease, and the supreme executive power shall be deposited *de interim* in the president of the supreme court of justice."

When, therefore, on the 11th of January, 1858, General Comonfort vacated the Presidency, the Constitution devolved the office upon Benito Juarez, the president of the supreme court of justice. *De facto*; for he holds the field, and has the money and the masses. The federal army, it is true, was not at

his command. Felix Zuloaga was illegally named Dictator by a clique at the capital, January 22, 1858; and having the army, and holding the capital, Juarez transferred the administration to Vera Cruz. There was no such officer known as Dictator, and Zuloaga has paid the penalty of usurpation by deposition. There can be but one executive, and Robles, who assumed Zuloaga's place, was not that officer. The constitution under which Juarez acts is the only organic law, and that does not recognize the junta which elected Miramon, to whom Robles yielded his fasces.

This constitution is the rallying cry of the Liberals; to its defence the nation is committed; by it alone is order possible. To sustain its upholders is clearly the duty, as it is the interest and desire of the United States. President Buchanan has well considered these facts. In the success of the constitutional party he places all his hopes of redress for the innumerable outrages to our citizens. If this party fail, and there "being abundant cause for a resort to hostilities against the Government now holding possession of the capital," I am ready, for one, to vote for any system of reprisal, or to grant the Executive the necessary power to take possession of any portion of Mexico, as a pledge for the settlement of our claims.

I say that I am ready to vote for such reprisal or occupation. But I have considered these parties in Mexico with the view of qualifying this declaration. I believe that it would be best, at once, to recognize the Juarez constitutional government, by the most solemn assurances of sympathy and protection. The late news makes this step *imminently urgent*. This can be done; first, by the prompt recognition of Mata, who is here seeking such recognition; second, by the sending of a naval force to the Gulf, where we are unrepresented. This force should be accompanied by a commissioner to treat with the Juarez government; to counteract the influence of the allied fleets now aiding Miramon and Robles, and threatening Juarez; and with the latter to cement an alliance, and to obtain such a settlement of our claims and difficulties as will comport with our interest and honor. I have the surest authority for saying that such an arrangement would give us, not only a firm union with Mexico, not only postal and extradition and right of way treaties, not only a foothold in the northern Mexican States, which can be made permanent without war; but it would foil every attempt of the European alliance to control the affairs of Mexico. It would crush the Robles-Miramont government, elevate and organize the democratic American sentiment, and give us an alliance of peace, which is the precursor of a magnificent commerce!

If, however, we seize Sonora and Chihuahua, without an understanding with the constitutional Government, what will be the result? Poor and miserable as is the condition of Mexico, she would likely declare war. Such a declaration would come from the Robles-Miramont faction. It would draw to that faction the strength of the nation. It would, perhaps, crush Juarez and his party, and leave us no better off than if we had pursued a more politic and pacific course.

Again, if we delay to recognize the constitutional Government, it will soon be in power at the capital as it is in the provinces. It can then say to us, "Oh, yes; you would not help us in our extremity, when your advantage should have prompted you, and your sympathy would have been of service. We can get along without your aid now. Touch not a foot of our soil, on the penalty of an endless difficulty."

Wisdom, interest, the law of American progress, and the predominance of our Union on this continent, all urge the course I have indicated. Juarez waits our action. Shall we miss the golden opportunity?

If we fail in our efforts with him, then I am willing at once to take Sonora and Chihuahua, whichever party succeeds.

I believe that the list of American claims and cruelties, which has even provoked the English press to wonder at our forbearance, is warrant enough for such possession. There are even yet higher ground for such seizure. The French Minister, De Gabriea, rules in the Miramon councils. A French fleet rides before Sacrificios. The French admiral was very ready to back Spain in her demands. To break this French power is our imperative duty. If it be not broken, our line of extension southward to Central America will be broken irrevocably.

Such is the condition of parties in Mexico. I need not discuss it further. The contest now is between the democratic element and the conservative element. The latter has its eye ever on Europe, and averse to the United States. Its rule has proved the most distracting and disastrous ever yet known in the annals of the South American Republics, where the earthquake and the revolution alike awake the same sad cry of anguish, and receive the same defiant, destructive answer.

I need not have pictured this land of beauty and order as it was once, to heighten the contrast of its present condition. After thirty-eight years of debilitating spasms, we find, to-day, the spectacle of Mexico helpless, bleeding, dying; the Turkey of the western world; and capable of no effort even of resistance to the Spanish fleet, much less to the French or English. Rapacity, crime, chaos, craft, license, and brutality; indolence only active to wrong; and industry quickened only for vice; laws made for their infraction, and order to be contemned. Mountain cries unto valley for relief; and from hacienda to city goes up the agony of despair. This is unhappy Mexico, in whose fate no nation ever can have the interest we have till such a nation conquer us. *Who shall intervene?*

Were it only the natives who suffered, we might stand aloof, and say, "they have made their bed; let them lie in it." But even this would be culpable indifference. Good neighborhood does not thus do its office. The artisans of the city of Mexico are out of employment, and hungering for food. Let this one fact speak volumes! In the three pawnbroking establishments of the city, called Monts de Piedad, the last year, there were 68,000 borrowers out of a population of 185,000; \$912,000 were loaned, and \$863,000 paid for its use. With an army of 11,700 men, of which 5,800 are officers, and a debt of \$120,000,000, and an expenditure by two Governments; with but one eighth of her arable soil cultivated, and her mines unworked, or, if worked the treasures at the mercy of the red guerilleros who infest every avenue of intercourse; with every one of her twenty-two States and six Territories parading an array of contending forces and ambitious guerilla chiefs; Garza and Vidaurri conferring in the North to move down and check the Federalists of the interior; Pesquera about to move on Mazatlan; Alatriste on the plains of Apam; Camanón, from Metamoras de Izucar, waiting to besiege Puebla; Planco in Michoacan; Iturbide in the Bahia; Marquez repulsed from the Puente Calderon, around which gather the combating forces under Miramon, Rocha, and Degolla da; Mejia defeated by the liberal forces under Pueblita and Huerta; the environs of the capitol swarming with the Liberal soldiery; this was the picture of a few days ago!

The scene changes. The Federal chief Echeagaray betrays Zuloaga, and in collusion with Robles, makes the latter chief. Echeagaray in turn is imprisoned at Puebla; is about to be shot; when, lo! an insurrection in the city of Mexico saves him, and Zuloaga rushes to the English flag for protection. In this complication, a junta is called to settle the difficulty; and who should be chosen but Miramon, a dashing young general, flushed with his successes over the Liberals, and who moves toward the city under the fluttering pennons of his cavalry. Meanwhile, young Alvarez and Villava lead their speckled lancers down on the warm lowlands for pillage; while Juarez, dignified and statesmanlike, holds his rule in Vera Cruz, the commercial metropolis. Mexican conducta go down to the sea under the French flag, to get his revenues, to help one party by robbing the other; while the fleets of the three great nations of Europe gather on her coasts, and beg, from their gaping gun-mouths, the results of spent plunder! It is as if Dives should besiege Lazarus with a bowie knife and revolver, and bid him disgorge the furtive crumb, as indemnity for the past and security for the future! Fifty generals and a nation of seven millions, not knowing what may be their fate! The Agiotistas hold the money and oppress with it. The generals murder and pillage in gross, and the bandits in detail. Indians never before in arms rush to them for self-preservation. Foreigners, ever at the mercy of these fickle factions, find no protection in their flags, and no hope but in passive submission to forced loans and open robbery. This is the spectacle of mutilated Mexico to-day. To-morrow it may be worse!

I repeat it, *who shall intervene?* Some one must. Our interest is paramount. Why this interest? Not only our proximity to Mexico; not alone the number of our citizens domiciliated in the country; but a common interest in the development, the retouching, as it were, into its primeval color and grace, of that elder beauty which Spain tarnished and anarchs have torn to shreds. Our interest lies first in Mexico's erect and orderly independency. If that be no longer possible, then that no Power but our own shall guard its weakness and administer its estate. This is the only programme which this nation can tolerate, and by which it dare abide and survive or grow!

As to our proximity: the reasons on this head for our intervention are well set forth in the President's message, I cannot add to its force. I therefore quote it:

"But there is another view of our relations with Mexico, arising from the unhappy condition of affairs along our southwestern frontier, which demands immediate action. In that remote region, where there are but few white inhabitants, large bands of hostile and predatory Indians roam promiscuously over the Mexican States of Chihuahua and Sonora, and our adjoining Territories. The local governments of these States are perfectly helpless, and are kept in a state of constant alarm by the Indians. They have not the power, if they possessed the will, even to restrain lawless Mexicans from passing the border and committing depredations on our remote settlers. A state of anarchy and violence prevails throughout that distant frontier. The laws are a dead letter, and life and property wholly insecure. For this reason the settlement of Arizona is arrested, whilst it is of great importance that a chain of inhabitants should extend along its southern border, sufficient for their own protection, and that of the United States mail passing in and from California. Well-founded apprehensions are now entertained that the Indians and wandering Mexicans, equally lawless, may break up the important stage and postal communication recently established between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions. This passes very near to the Mexican boundary throughout the whole length of Arizona. I can imagine no possible remedy for these evils, and no mode of restoring law and order on that remote and unsettled frontier, but for the Government of the United States to assume a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora, and to establish military posts within the same; and this I earnestly recommend to Congress. This protection may be withdrawn as soon as local governments shall be established in these Mexican States, capable of performing their duties to the United States, restraining the lawless, and preserving peace along the border."

A temporary protectorate will effectually, if not nominally, give us these States of Sonora and Chihuahua. They are very sparsely populated, there being about three hundred thousand persons to their two hundred and twenty-three thousand seven hundred and ten square miles. These lands are represented as delightful in climate and rich in resources, agricultural and mineral. They have been described as the land of the blessed in Oriental story. Summer and winter, table land and valley, are nearer akin than in most places in the world. Silver is in their streams,—in lodes with crests elevated above the ground. Spain demonstrated their riches; but the nomadic Apaches swept over this Eldorado, and left but a memory of its treasures which American enterprise is already vitalizing into a reality.

Is it objected by southern gentlemen that these States must become free, and not slave States? I hope not. You have been claiming your constitutional rights. Where is there a word about the equilibrium of the States in that instrument? Under it you have equality of right, and no right of equality in the number of States. This equality is not of arithmetic, but of political ethics. The moment you claim equilibrium of States, that moment your honor is compromised and your loyalty to the Constitution is questioned.

Do you say, "We will favor this protectorate if Tamaulipas and New Leon are included?" Very well; try that. I will vote for it, or vote to include any other State where you think you can raise coffee and sugar, and can outvie with the North in the race of colonization and power. I will gladly vote for a protectorate over an independent federation of States north of the Sierra Madre.

Mr. MILLSON. I want to know under what authority the gentleman from Ohio represents southern gentlemen as desiring all these Mexican States?

Mr. COX. I have not so represented them. I say, southern gentlemen may, perhaps, not exactly wish to take Sonora and Chihuahua, lest they might become free States, and not slave States. It was a suggestion made to me by a southern member, and I said to him, "Come along; we will put in Tamaulipas and New Leon. We will link them hand in hand." For myself, I am

willing to give protection to northern Mexico; if not for annexation, for a free trade which will be of mutual advantage, and will be a practical absorption. It will at least prepare these States for admission. Let Monterey be the nucleus of Zacatecas, San Luis, Queretaro, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, New Leon, Chihuahua, and Sonora—all the States between the Rio Bravo and the Gulf of California; all natural allies in the interests of the United States. Let them cluster in upon our ensign—not star by star, but in a galaxy. By that you do at once what will in time be done by the natural laws of development. Besides, you raise our present feeble trade of seven millions to twenty-eight, which Great Britain enjoys. You can thus enhance every inch of soil, and every shining particle of ore, in these regions.

Mr. GIDDINGS. Will my colleague allow me to put a question to him?

Mr. COX. No, sir; I have not time. We will meet and talk the matter over after my friend shall be made Governor. I do not wish to get out of the line of my argument.

By this programme we shall have, in time, with all of Mexico, a practical annexation, which will allow free trade and safe intercourse, to our mutual advantage.

As to the question of protecting our citizens already in Mexico, and demanding reparation for wrongs done them, this should be a capital cause of intervention in Mexican matters. Senator Mason's bill is rightly predicated on this cause. If Spain could make the liberals pay for the murder and spoliation of Spanish subjects at San Vincente, Chiconeuque, Durango, and elsewhere, in Comonfort's time, why are we asleep over the rights of our citizens? I have before me a list of these claims, but a very imperfect one. Each claim is a *casus belli*. Here are some dozen cases of illegal seizure of American property. I saw it noticed that some eleven millions were already calculated at our State Department. We have grievances beyond money. The sentences in relation to illegal marriages is a wrong to those without the established church, and degrades to crime the holy relations of parentage and wedlock; the infamous surveillance of the post office over American letters, refusing to deliver even the United States consular correspondence unless it were first inspected by Mexican authorities; and worse still, the rude, cruel, and brutal arrest and imprisonment of Chaplin, Stocker, Ainsi, and Garcia, are enough to make the Haynau of Austria pale beside the imbruted and unbridled scoundrelism of Mexican officers. The story of Ainsi, seized on American soil, sixteen months in the prisons of Sonora, wearing the *barra de grillas*; and that sad, saddest of all stories, the massacre of his brother-in-law, Crabbie, and his confederates, whose characters have been blackened to rob their murder of its heinousness; these should move the very stones to sympathy.

In this matter the United States have but one duty. These sufferers were our citizens. Wherever that character of citizenship is to be found, the individual bearing it, is clothed with the nationality of the Union. Whoever the man may be, whether native-born, naturalized, or semi-naturalized, he can claim the protection of this Government. It may respond to that claim without being obliged to explain its conduct to any foreign Power; "for it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations and respectable in every quarter of the globe." This doctrine was illustrated in the Koszta case. What difference is there between a dungeon in Guaymas, where Ainsi lay in chains, and the Austrian brig Huzzar, which held the body of the Hungarian?

The outrages upon our citizens are not confined to Mexico. In every Spanish-American State they are common. In Peru, in Paraguay, in New Granada, in Cuba, in Costa-Rica, in all places where the slanders of the Madrid press against the "peddling traders of the North" enter, we have to meet persecution, imprisonment, illegal seizure of property and person and an unwinking espionage; and that, too, under taunts more galling, because we know how easy it would be to punish such outrages. We should examine the list of claims on Spanish-American States to appreciate the divine forbearance of our inactivity. A settlement with Mexico would be a general settlement with Spanish America.

This duty of intervention becomes at once imperative and dignified, when we

remember that, by such an act, we do not only protect our citizens, but we save Mexico. We not only save her from Spain, France, and England, but from herself. This is no conquest of Cortez. It is the salvation of a people whose interests will be bettered by our aid. Without such aid, the fairest part of this continent will be a ruin—only the worse because, like the Parthenon, its fragments will remain to show the beauty and richness of its former condition.

In conclusion, the policy I have indicated with respect to this continent, and the application of which to Cuba, Central America, and Mexico, will be of such benefit to them, will enable us to conform to that law of growth by which alone we have become great, and by which alone we shall become greater. This is the policy of other nations, and they have met obstacles to accomplish it. We shall accomplish it, but we shall have *them* as our obstacles. England has swept with her power from the Shannon to the Indus. She is content, and so are we, to see her greatness repeated in the offspring of her loins. Yet she daily calls our attempts to expand by the rudest terms. France has twice threatened Europe with continental conquest, and now organizes the Arabs of Northern Africa, the granary of the Roman world, for her march upon Egypt and her domination of the Mediterranean. Russia, the great land animal, is piercing Asia at every vulnerable point with her lances, and is pressing for an empire of which there is no adequate prophecy in the Scriptures. Even Spain joins her arms and her priesthood with France, and is waging against Cochin China, a war which her journals call the civilizing spirit of the age, impelling the force of Europe to break down the barriers which divide that race from humanity.

Yet all of these nations, except Russia, which has ever been kind and tolerant toward us, are this day in league to prevent the stretch of our influence over our continent. England, holding half of North America, is jealous of our growth, and would choke us at the isthmian neck. France would crush out the sympathies of the white republic of St. Domingo for the United States, by her Chevalier Reyband, chargé at Hayti; and she used that burlesque of emperors and that ape of manhood, Soulouque, to Africanize the island, to overthrow Santa Anna, and to break down the Cazenau treaty for a free port and steam depot, and for advantages to our citizens in the mines, sugar lands, and mahogany forests of that island! France again appears in the Sandwich Islands; at the Isthmus, with M. Belly; and at last in Mexico, aiding the Spaniards, and in sympathy with the Spaniards of Cuba, to foil us in every attempt to adjust our national relations with that country. Every steamer brings us a lecture from Exeter Hall on our slave propagandist filibusterism. And may we not go for its commentary to Copenhagen, to Ionia, to Gibraltar, to Malta, to the Cape of Good Hope, to the Red Sea, to Jamaica, to New Zealand, to China, and to the sheiks of all India. Why, the British regime in India was a system of torture more exquisite than regal or spiritual tyranny ever before devised. The Sepoys vainly tried to copy its atrocities.

Were we left alone, we might be content to let France alone. No American would whisper a "nay" to her making the Mediterranean a French lake. Her genius and vivacity can make its waves glow with the light of other days. That sea on which navigation had its birth—the maritime world of Greece, Carthage, Rome, Tyre, Sidon, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Venice, and Genoa—the sea of Homer and David, Jonah and St. Paul, Ulysses and Neptune; washing the base of Ararat and Olympus; with a world's history on its bosom, and whole nations in its bed; the American can well say, let its guard be the gallant sons of France! He could say it without envy, and with heartiness, if France would keep her navies out of the Gulf of Mexico and the harbor of San Juan.

We have made no remonstrance against England on her ceaseless round of empire—bloody, cruel, and rapacious as it has been—subsidizing the riches of Asia to her commerce and her greed. We know the law by which these powerful white races move. It will be irresistible. France, England, and Russia, are tending to a common focus at the Isthmus of Suez, as France, England, and the United States are at Darien. Starting from opposite points, extra-European conquest converges here! England seeks passage across Egypt or Syria, for

India and Australia, and pounces on Perim at the mouth of the Red Sea—as she did on Gibraltar and San Juan. France, marching her army of Algeria, presses toward the prize to realize the great Napoleon's dream of Egypt, and urges her canal at Suez as she is striving to do at Nicaragua. Russia, semi-oriental, marches through Western Asia and Persia down upon the confines of English power and French ambition, and finds her rivals in the field. What fine reproaches they can hurl at each other and at us, for the lust of dominion, when they gather at this focus of the former civilization! What shocks of contending forces will there and then be encountered! Let them come and strive. Let Russia push its caravans across the steppes of Tartary until the trade of Kiachta and Irkantsh rival Canton and Shanghai. Let France divorce Asia from Africa by marrying the Red sea to the Mediterranean at Suez. Let England work its iron way to India from Beyrouth to the Euphrates. Let the steam engine labor for the millions of Asia under any engineer; but let America alone in her armies of occupation to open the Isthmus, and control the steam and commercee center of our own hemisphere.

No change of dynasty, or of form of government, can check this ultimate condition of European expansion and collision. Such a change may affect the relations of these countries to ourselves. The illiberal policy of France to this country may return to plague its inventor, the usurper of France.

I have never heard his hated name since the 2d of December, that I could repress the prayer, which now I pray with something of a Red Republican fervor, that France may have barricades on the Boulevards; the throne in flames, as that of Louis Philippe in the Place du Carouzel; the dynasty he seeks to perpetuate cut off, or flying from the rage of a Red Republic; more citizens and less soldiers, and both fraternizing to the music of the Marseillaise; exiles returning from their homes in pestilential swamps, amidst gay and festive welcome; prisons breaking; the press free; the Palais Justice open, and the tri-color of a new Republic flashing from every part of France and topmost on the Hotel de Ville, made sacred by the heroic eloquence of Lamartine. This would be a fit retribution from God for crimes and perjuries; and not at all unfit as the reward of an intermeddling policy with the republican interests of the New World!

Let us be decided! These European Powers cannot, and do not, have peace. The bugles of truce sounded at the conference of Paris. Heralds proclaimed peace in every capital. But the war harness is not off. It is burnished anew, and the weapons within reach! England, trembling at the one hundred thousand soldiers across the channel, and the naval wonders at Cherbourg, commences to build coast defences. Russia acquires Villa France, and stirs insurrection in Ionia against England. Mazzini issues his rescript to the secret societies and Republicans of Italy to be ready and one as the thought of Italy and God. The coin of "Emmanuel, the King of Italy," is circulated through the peninsula. An actress moves the people of Venice to insurrection by a recitative which reminds them of their patriotism. Austria arms, and Piedmont proposes to repel. France sends more troops to Rome. Austria growls. France obtains from the Swiss a strong strategic post, and Austria growls again. Naples insults Napoleon to please Austria. England writes bitterly against Naples, and does not spare the prosecutor of Montalembert. England shakes with a new reform movement—John Bright striving to Americanize her by popular sovereignty. Turkey is unsettled in Europe and in Asia. Russia moves on, immense and great—the envy of all. A lighted match may flash this magazine into a terrific blaze, whose thunder will make all Europe quake. The alliances of to-day, in Europe, for her own balance of power, may be dissolved by a popular breath to-morrow. As a consequence, they cannot be relied on to pursue us to any fatal end.

Already England has pushed this alliance with France to its snapping point. The English people will not permit their aristocracy to carry it so far as to make it an offence to the people of this commercial nation. Not but that the English Government would like to aid France in checking our career; but trade is powerful for peace, and peace with us means cotton in England. Let England find cotton elsewhere, and our southern friends may be assured that her



intercourse with us will be no longer peaceful. themselves either, that cotton is their peculiar ~~st~~ every appliance to reach central China? To clot millions of Chinese? No. They are thus clothed which is the stupendous growth of their own ~~gr...~~ central valley, estimated now to produce more than double the cotton raised in all our southern States put together. This valley being England's, Manchester and Stockport can snap their fingers at Charleston and Mobile, and English audacity will begin a new career of rapacity and insolence towards us. Her jealousy of us is *intus et in cuto*.

Our reliance must be on our own strength and growth. If we cannot enact the Monroe doctrine into international law, we can create and consecrate it as a national sentiment. Let it be the national genius. Let it be the power of Aladdin's lamp. You remember the story. The old lamp from its friction evoked from the cave a mighty spirit; awed by its terrors, the poor youth only ventured at first to employ its powers in familiar affairs; but gradually accustomed to its presence, he employed it to construct palaces, to amass treasures, to baffle armies, to triumph over foes, to wield the elements of air, light and heat, until at the close of the story, the poor youth becomes the sovereign of a peaceful empire assured to his remote posterity!

This story, Mr. Speaker, is the type of our political genius. By it we have fortified ourselves in our domestic interests. Our domestic and territorial policy is fixed up for its guidance. It is the instrument of that progress which must keep pace with steam and telegraph, until we are assured of an empire with which kingcraft dare not meddle; or meddling, find it a power to baffle its force of arms, and its fraud of diplomacy. We have become a Colossus on this continent, with a strength and stride that will and must be heeded. With our domestic policy as to local governments established, we can go on and Americanize this continent, and make it what Providence intended it should become, by a perpetual growth and an unsevered Union—the paragon in history, for order, harmony, happiness, and power!

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